

A Compressed View
of the
Points to be Discussed
in Treating with the
United States of America

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COMPRESSED VIEW

OF THE

Points to be Discussed,

IN TREATING

WITH THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA;

WITH AN APPENDIX.

BY THE AUTHOR OF "AMERICAN ENCROACHMENTS ON
BRITISH RIGHTS."

"—— At present, amongst European Nations, a Naval Strength, which is the portion of Great Britain, is more than ever of the greatest importance to Sovereignty, as well because most of the Kingdoms of Europe are not Continents, but in a good measure surrounded by the Sea, as because the treasures of both Indies seem but an accessory to the Dominion of the Sea."
BACON.

—— "The Sea, which is our Mother (that embraces
Both the rich Indies in her out-stretched arms),
Yields every day a crop, if we dare reap it."

MASSINGER.

COMPRESSED VIEW, &c.



AS the period approaches, when conferences are to be held to adjust the differences between Great Britain and the United States of America, the attention is naturally called to the objects which will offer themselves for discussion. The principal point is generally supposed to be our maritime rights; but to suffer these even to be discussed would be a dereliction of duty, in any negotiator who might attempt, or any minister who might sanction it. No infringement, abatement, or qualification can be admitted. But there are various other objects, concerning which this negotiation will give us an opportunity of treating; and which, though latent and little regarded by the public at large, are seriously felt, as of the utmost moment, by the few who have had opportunities of appreciating their importance. At this juncture, therefore, and previous to the appointed meeting of plenipotentiaries, it is desirable to instil into the public mind, widely to circulate, and warmly to impress, the truths, that it will be the object of the following pages to maintain, and which, it is hoped, will not escape the penetration, or appear insignificant in the eyes, of those who may be entrusted with the interests of the empire on this momentous occasion.

To "ships, colonies, and commerce," no one will deny, that the inhabitants of the British islands owe their wealth and prosperity, the government its preponderance and stability, and the imperial crown its lustre. Whatever, therefore, tends to augment the num-

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bers of our mercantile and warlike fleets, of our seamen, and our traders ; whatever can give increased extent, security, and value to our colonies ; whatever can promote the commercial interests of the nation at large ; must be an object of the warm solicitude of every patriot statesman. It will be contended in these pages, that no occurrence has for a series of years afforded so great an opening for enhancing these inestimable privileges, for correcting the errors of former times, and for making ample and stable provision for the future, than the result of the war, we are at present engaged in with the United States of America ; for by that, all former treaties, all impolitic concessions are abrogated ; every thing may pass in revision ; and we shall, whenever a peace is concluded, be entitled, supposing the events of the war to give us that commanding attitude which we ought to possess, to claim and enforce those advantages, which nature and policy point out as belonging to the possessors of Canada.

The importance of our possessions in North America, has never been duly estimated. Though the abundant supplies of timber, masts, &c. which our navy has, for years, derived from Canada, have, as to that point, now opened the eyes of the country ; though the nursery for our seamen, which the fisheries on those coasts have constituted, has long been acknowledged, as almost a vital part of our naval existence ; yet are there other advantages to be derived from the productions of nature and industry, which encouragement and protection from the mother country would incessantly call into action, that have been mostly overlooked, or greatly under-rated.

The bounds within which this discussion is meant to be confined, will not permit of more than an enumeration of the most prominent of these objects.

In the first place, our colonies of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland, are amply adequate to supply our West India possessions with all the timber, all the staves, and all the fish they can require : and prior to the present American war with nearly all the wheat and flour they could consume. The fur trade is an important branch, and might be made far more productive, if adequate protection and encouragement were given to pursue it to the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

Ashes, indispensable in our bleaching and soap manufactories, can be yielded in any quantities. Shumac, used for dying, can be furnished in abundance; flax seed, for which the staple of Ireland is now dependant on the United States, Holland, and the Baltic, might be raised and exported to great advantage;—and great quantities of oil and blubber might be imported from them, if admitted to entry at the same rate of duty, as the oil and blubber from Newfoundland.

A loyal population, increasing in numbers, and diffusing itself over the millions of yet uncleared and uncultivated acres, which yield in fertility, and convenience of site, to no part of the United States, has proved, that Canada has resources within itself, stamina of sturdy prosperity, that need but the fostering aid of the mother country, and her parental protection, to establish an influence on the continent of North America, spreading even in time to the Pacific, and trading from the shores of that ocean with the rich regions of the East.

That we may not again return into a course that has been productive of so much embarrassment, vexation, and injury to our interests; that we may not in future blindly commit ourselves by treaties, which may be the overflowing sources of contention; in short, that we may not evince hereafter a total ignorance either of the rights or of the boundaries of the two nations, the oversights in our former negociations will be pointed out, and an endeavour made to suggest remedies for such causes of dissention in future.

In concluding a treaty of peace with the United States, not only ought the main feature of the war, the inviolate maintenance of our maritime rights, to be kept in view; but the scarcely less important object, the preservation of the British North American colonies, ought not to be overlooked. To secure this last it is requisite to advert to one grand point, the necessity of the establishment of *a new line of boundary*, between the British and the American possessions, and to several subordinate objects, which will be noticed in this tract.

Posterity will scarcely believe, though history must attest the mortifying truth, that in acceding to the independence of the States of America, their territory was not merely allowed to them; but

an extent of country, then a portion of the province of Quebec, nearly of equal magnitude to the thirteen provinces or states, which then composed the Union, was ceded to them, though not a foot of the country so ceded was, or could be, at the time, occupied by an American in arms : and this cession is the more remarkable, as, New York and Rhode Island being then in possession of the British army, the surrender of these valuable posts seemed, on the contrary, to require a large equivalent elsewhere, instead of giving, as it were, a premium for getting rid of them.

Yet such was the ignorance of the then minister of Great Britain, and those whom he employed, in regard to the geographical position and local importance of the territory ceded, that when the merchants of London, interested in the Canada trade, waited on Mr. Oswald, the negociator, to represent the impolitic and improvident cession of the upper country, and the posts commanding the same, viz. Michilimachinak, Detroit, Niagara, Presqu'isle, Schlosser, Oswego, and Oswegatchie, &c. and to endeavour to discover, whether some means could not be devised for averting the destructive consequences which might ensue to the inhabitants of Canada, and to the British trade and influence with the Indians, he literally burst into tears, and acknowledged his complete ignorance of such posts being in our possession, and of the country given away being an object in any respect worthy of notice. Unfortunately, it was too late to retrieve the error, and deeply did British interests and influence suffer in consequence. But its mischievous effects were not solely confined to British subjects : they fell also upon a body of men, whose interests the British negociator had no authority or right to compromise. The ceded country was inhabited by numerous tribes and nations of Indians, *who were independent* both of us and of the Americans. They were the real proprietors of the land, and we had no right to transfer to others what did not belong to ourselves. This injustice was greatly aggravated by the consideration, that those aboriginal nations had been our faithful allies during the whole of the contest, and yet no stipulation was made in their favor.

Immediately after the treaty of 1783, the American government shamefully evaded or infringed the stipulations respecting the loyal-

ists, and British debts, in consequence of which the before-mentioned upper posts were retained as a pledge till the due performance of those articles. Many years after, when appearances indicated that these posts would be surrendered to America, the merchants of Montreal, who were principally concerned in the Indian trade, preferred representations, in which the impolicy of the cession was exposed, and every effort made to procure a new line of boundary or demarcation, compatible with the security of Canada, and the protection of the Indians, but without effect, as, by Mr. Jay's treaty of 1794, the said posts were agreed to be delivered up on or before the 1st of June, 1796; and the only provision obtained respecting the Indians, was a right of trade from Canada with them, on the same footing as the Americans, and which had been suggested in those representations as an alternative desirable only in the event of a new line not being procurable. The posts were accordingly given up: but the encroaching character of the Americans was here again manifested, for, notwithstanding the positive stipulations of that treaty, so little regard was paid by the American government to their plighted faith, that by a treaty between the United States and the Indians, concluded at Fort Greenville on the 3d of August, 1795, an article was forced upon the Indians, by which they engaged that no trader should reside at any Indian town or hunting camp, without a license under the authority of the United States.¹

To remedy this direct breach of the treaty of 1794, an explanatory article was concluded at Philadelphia, on the 4th of May, 1796, between Mr. Bond and Mr. Pickering, on the part of their respective governments. But the evil was merely shifted, not removed. British traders were assailed and harassed in various ways, even passes were enforced, notwithstanding the stipulations of the treaty of 1794, extortions were practised in the duties required to be paid, and wherever any flaw could be discovered, or there was room for any unnatural interpretation, the British were sure to be the sufferers.

In spite of these vexations, the British traders persevered, and

¹ See the Travels of Pike, Lewis, and Clark.

continued to participate in the Indian commerce, contributing, thus, eminently to preserve to the British nation that attachment of the natives, which recent experience has proved to be of signal importance to the security of Canada. On the other hand the American government was pursuing an unrelenting and systematic plan, for despoiling the Indians of their lands, by every species of injustice; and it carried on this plan with such deliberate zeal, that the natives became finally convinced, that their extermination was the real object of that government and its rapacious land-jobbers. To give, therefore, security and permanency, not only to our boundary line, but to that of our faithful Indian allies, is a most necessary and important point.

The boundary line, as supposed to be fixed in 1783, betrays, at its commencement, in its course, and at its termination, the greatest ignorance of the geography, and of the natural features and utilities of the vast regions through which it runs.

The framers of that treaty, on the part of Great Britain, instead of insisting, according to their instructions, on the river Penobscot being the boundary between New Brunswick and the United States, abandoned that point, and allowed the line to be carried as far as the river St. Croix, giving up an extent of sea coast of nearly fifty leagues, though the Penobscot was the utmost northern point to which the limits of the New England States were before supposed to extend. At the same time the mouth of the St. Croix was uncertain, nor was it settled till 1798 what river was exactly meant by that name.

This river falls into Passamaquoddy Bay, part of the Bay of Fundy, in the latitude of $45^{\circ} 5'$ north; and American encroachment has been at work here also, and surreptitious possession has been obtained, by the State of Massachusetts, of three islands in Passamaquoddy Bay, which are of considerable importance to the security and to the trade of the adjacent parts of New Brunswick. These islands, which are the Moose, Dudley, and Frederic, being at the time, and previous to the conclusion of the treaty, of 1783, part of Nova Scotia, come undeniably within the exception made in the treaty, by which the American territory was allowed to comprehend all islands within twenty leagues of the United States,

“excepting such as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of the said province of Nova Scotia.”

The line then runs up the river St. Croix to its source, and thence in a southerly direction along the height of land from which that river flows, till it strikes the forty-fifth degree of north latitude. And here, again, the ignorance or inattention of the framers of the treaty to the locality and courses of the river, has produced the monstrous absurdity, that there is actually no readily practicable communication between Lower Canada and New Brunswick, *without crossing a part of the American territory*, now called the province of Maine.

It then proceeds westward along the forty-fifth degree of latitude, till it reaches the St. Lawrence, cutting off, in a most artificial and unnatural manner, the water communications of Lake Champlain and Lake George, with the St. Lawrence; thence along the middle of the St. Lawrence into Lake Ontario, through the water communication between it and Lake Erie, through the middle of Lake Erie to the water communication with Lake Huron, through that, and then across Lake Huron in a northerly direction, and through the straits of St. Mary into Lake Superior.

That no geographical blunders took place in the drawing of this extensive line from the St. Lawrence to Lake Superior, may be ascribed to the plain direct course, which did not admit of ignorance or inattention deviating either to the right or the left. But the line is thenceforward described to extend through Lake Superior northward to the isles Royal and Philippeaux, to the Long Lake, and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods; thence through that lake to the northernmost point thereof, and thence in a due line west to the river Mississippi.

Now there is no water communication at all between Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods. A height of land intervenes between them, from which the water flows in north-westerly and south-easterly directions. The line presumed to be meant by these accurate negociators, is that along which the north-eastern fur trade is conducted. There is a small river flowing into Lake Superior, which it is necessary to ascend in canoes, landing frequently at carrying places, to avoid rapids and falls, which are numerous in this

river, as its course from the height of land into Lake Superior is short, and the current strong. Having reached the summit and passed the portage, which separates the streams that flow in opposite directions, the canoes proceed down the western stream, through the Rainy Lake, and the Lake of the Woods, into Lake Winnepeg. From the north-western point of the Lake of the Woods, a line drawn due west could never strike the Mississippi, which rises far to the southward. So that at this end of the boundary line the uncertainty of it is so great, that, had not hostilities intervened, it would in course of time have become necessary to resume the discussion of the boundaries, and fix them in a more intelligible and defined manner.

Thus, however, it stands at present. A new boundary line is therefore necessary, were it simply to define geographical limits, and remedy the errors we have pointed out. But it is more imperiously requisite, in a political point of view, to give permanent security to our North American possessions, and effectually to curb the avowed ambition, and encroachments of the Americans.

The great feature of this new line, strenuously to be insisted on, ought to be the exclusion of the Americans from the navigation of the St. Lawrence, and all its congregation of tributary seas and waters. They are the natural patrimony of the Canadas. Water communications do not offer either a natural or secure boundary. Mountains separate, but rivers approximate mankind. Hence the prominent boundary should be the heights of land separating the respective territories. If this basis were adopted, the advantages of it, on looking at the map, will be obvious to the most superficial observer. We should have possession of Lake Champlain, and the waters descending into it; of an adjacent country, and of the southern shores of all the great lakes, of which we have now only the northern coasts; together with the whole of Lake Michigan, from which, through a series of the same watercourse, we are wholly excluded. In this quarter, the heights of land separate the waters that flow into the great lakes, from those that take their course towards the Mississippi; and as, by the eighth article of the treaty of 1783, we are entitled to the free navigation of that important river, so essential an advantage should not be neglected to

be ensured to us, and a point of contact of our territories with a *navigable* part of that river, secured by a line down one of the rivers running into it in these regions, or along a height of land between two of them.

No arguments need be used to illustrate the extreme importance of this last object, which is obvious; and if we should not be able to obtain the heights of land as a new line of boundary throughout, and should be obliged to be content with a line passing through the several watercourse communications from Lake Ontario to Lake Huron; at all events, instead of proceeding through the Straits of St. Mary into Lake Superior, it should go from Lake Erie up the Sandusky River to the nearest waters falling into the Ohio, and from thence down that river into the Mississippi; thus according with the spirit of the eighth article of the treaty of 1783, and giving us a point of contact with the Mississippi in a navigable part, which the second article, defining the boundaries, meant to bestow upon us, *but failed of doing* from its geographical inaccuracy.

Again, whether we procure the heights of land as a boundary-basis or not, we ought to insist on all the islands in the River St. Lawrence and the Lakes, and the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon; at least, no one of them should be ceded without previously ascertaining, by commissioners duly qualified from residence in the country, their locality and importance.

It has been suggested, that *it should be stipulated* that no vessel belonging to the Americans, *exceeding a certain burthen, twenty or thirty tons, which is a size quite adequate to the trade of those regions*, should be suffered to navigate any of the lakes, and that no fortifications of any kind should be erected upon their borders, or the borders of the St. Lawrence, or upon any of the waters that fall into them from the American side; whilst the right of the British in these respects should be reserved to be exercised without restriction: because one of the avowed and main objects of the American government, in this war, being the conquest of the Canadas, and the object of Great Britain merely the security of these provinces against aggression,—it is indisputable, that no peace can be safe or durable, without providing ample security against attacks

of that nature in future. It is equally important that the new claim set up by the United States to the whole of the north-west coast of America, as far as the Columbia River, in consequence of their possession of Louisiana, should be set at rest, and extinguished for ever.

Before dismissing the subject of our own boundary line, it may be well to advert to the limits as now existing between New Brunswick and the United States; and if we cannot get to the Penobscot, at least let some route or line be drawn, by which we may be enabled to have a free communication between Canada and Nova Scotia. And it is also, perhaps, the more requisite to insist upon the necessity of our resuming the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay, (and why they have not been taken possession of since the war cannot easily be explained,) as, by the unratified convention of 1803, it was most unaccountably agreed to cede them to the United States, this government being, it is presumed, ignorant not only of their importance, but of their having been for many years part of the parish of West Isles, in the county of Charlotte (the southernmost county of New Brunswick,) paying the rates, and acknowledging the municipal regulations incident upon such an appropriation.

Large quantities of lumber, furnished from the neighbouring parts of the province, are purchased by the Americans and carried to these islands, which are paid for in *prohibited* articles from the United States; and they in the same manner engross almost the whole of the produce of the fisheries, which is equally paid for in such articles: thus precluding the West India Islands, in a great measure, from receiving those supplies of fish and lumber in British bottoms, and introducing large quantities of contraband goods into the colony, to the serious injury of the manufacturing interests of the mother country. The situation of these islands also enables their inhabitants to engross a very great proportion of the trade in gypsum, which is now become an object of great demand, and, in some degree, of necessity, in the United States. In 1806, upwards of 40,000 tons were exported from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia; and, if the contraband trade in this article in Passamaquoddy Bay was suppressed, the export of it to the United

States would annually employ 10,000 tons of British shipping. The United States must also, in a very few years, resort to these provinces for coal, as other kinds of fuel have become scarce and dear in the Eastern States; and in the same manner as the carrying trade in gypsum is intercepted by these islands, would that in the coal be, if they were to continue in the possession of the Americans. It would, therefore, be the height of indiscretion to give up these Islands to the United States, exclusive of the difficulty of approach which it would occasion to the ports of New Brunswick, within Passamaquoddy Bay, the Americans having already erected a battery on one of these islands.

The next important point to be attended to in a treaty of peace with the United States, is a new boundary for the Indians.

The boundary line which appears best for the protection of Indian rights, and which would add to the security of Canada, would be to run a line from Sandusky, on Lake Erie, to the nearest waters falling into the Ohio; then down that river, and up the Mississippi, to the mouth of the Missouri; thence up the Missouri to its principal source, confining the United States to the Rocky mountains, as their western boundary, and excluding them from all the country to the northward and westward of the lines here designated, which, from those lines to that which should be agreed on as the British boundary of Canada, should remain wholly for the Indians as their hunting-grounds. The boundary between the United States and the Indians, as fixed by the treaty of Greenville, before alluded to, would perhaps answer as the new boundary line for the protection of the Indians, if extended so as to run up the Missouri and to the Rocky mountains, provided that *all the reservations and conditions in that treaty* relative to the various tracts of ground within that line, for the advantage of the United States, and all the other conditions attached to them by it, *be wholly done away*, and the American government (and probably also reciprocally the British), excluded from having any forts, military posts, territorial jurisdiction, or public property of any kind, within the Indian line; but the *bonâ fide* property of white people, in lands within that boundary, where the Indian titles shall have been fairly extinguished

previous to a new treaty with America, might perhaps be safely allowed under the territorial jurisdiction of Great Britain.

This would of course obviate the necessity of any reservation as to the right of the British to carry on trade with the Indians, whose independence being thus established, they would have the right to admit or interdict whom they please; and we well know to whom they would, both from inclination and interest, give the preference. This is the more desirable, as the intercourse with the Indians of that quarter by the British, being carried on by permission, as it were, of a jealous and hostile nation, has been the fruitful source of innumerable exactions, continued disputes, and incessant broils.

For men, whose friendship has been recently shown to be of such great importance to us, we cannot do too much. We should see all their wrongs redressed, their territory restored to them, and themselves rendered for ever secure from American encroachment. But the independence of the Indians cannot be effectually preserved, by the articles of any treaty, which shall provide security for Indian territory or Indian rights, unless, what is indispensable for their due execution, *Great Britain become the avowed guarantee and protector of those rights and that territory*, so as to have both the right and the power of instant interference, in case of any encroachment or violation, and not, as hitherto, be a silent spectator of wrongs and injustice, more immediately injurious to the aborigines, but eventually as ruinous to the security of the Canadas.

In illustration of the injuries the independent Indians have sustained from the Americans, and which have excited those apprehensions of extermination so generally entertained by the natives, we shall give the substance of the speech of the sagacious and brave TECUMSECTH,¹ at his interview with the lamented GENERAL BROCK, whom he came to aid, in his expedition to repel HULL's invasion of Upper Canada.

¹ This illustrious chief having been wounded in one of the late actions in Upper Canada, was found by the Americans in the field, and afterwards taken to their quarters, and FLAYED.

First, The Americans systematically encroach upon their lands, and drive them from their hunting-grounds.

Secondly, The American government make fraudulent purchases of their lands from Indians who have no right or power to sell, as, for example, by getting a few insignificant members of a village to make a sale, to color usurpation.

Thirdly, The American government, in many instances, have paid the Indians only one farthing per acre for lands, which they sold immediately afterwards for six dollars, deriving thus a most productive article of revenue from this unprincipled system; whilst even the miserable pittance of one farthing per acre they connive at the embezzlement of, by their agents.

Fourthly, The American government has established what they call *trading posts* in the Indian territory, under the pretence of supplying them with necessaries instead of money, for their lands.

Fifthly, These posts are turned into *military stations* at the pleasure of the American government, tending to the immediate annoyance, and to the ultimate subjugation, of the Indians.

Sixthly, Obstructions and embarrassments of various kinds have been long thrown in the way of the British traders repairing with supplies to the Indians; and finally, those traders were altogether prohibited from bringing their goods, by laws, such as the acts of non-importation, non-intercourse, &c. to which the Indians were *no parties*; notwithstanding they were by treaties, made with them as independent nations, and solemnly sanctioned by the United States, entitled to the right of free intercourse with the British traders.¹

Seventhly, Neither the feelings, the interests, nor the rights of the Indians, were at all considered by the Americans; but, on the contrary, were, on all occasions, studiously outraged and violated.²

If this view of the subject be entertained by those whom we are accustomed to call unenlightened savages, how much more readily will the European politician see the evil consequences with

¹ See the case of the Michilimackinac Company, whose boats were seized in 1807 by the Americans, which, in more unembarrassed times would have been considered a justifiable cause of immediate war.

² Appendix.

which such a system as the Americans pursue is pregnant both to the Indians and to the Canadas!

The next point to be adverted to is, the necessity of excluding the Americans from the fisheries on the coasts of British North America, especially those of Labradore, Newfoundland, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

The third article of the treaty of 1783, which admits them to take and dry fish on the shores of these colonies, ought to be utterly abrogated, and every vestige of its existence taken away. Improvident and impolitic in the outset, experience has shown, that it is much more injurious than might, on a superficial view, be supposed. That the Americans were enabled thereby to carry our own fish to the West Indies, and derive great part of the advantages of a trade which nature points out as belonging to us, is too well known to be more largely insisted on. But the latent evil consists in the encroachments committed, the insults offered, the depraved habits introduced, and the contraband trade carried on, under the mask of fishery, by the Americans, wherever their feet have been set on shore. That the mode in which the Americans have in this respect conducted themselves, is a systematic preliminary to the ulterior views of their government for the acquisition of territorial power in those parts, is apparent, when it is remarked, that in an article of a treaty concluded between France and the United States within the last twelve years, they mutually guarantee such lands as they may acquire in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and this at a time when neither of them owned an inch of land in the Gulf.

Not less than twelve hundred sail of American vessels were on those coasts, on real or pretended fishing expeditions, in 1805,¹ and a very extended illicit trade was carried on by them. The evils complained of are strongly set forth in the memorial of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, addressed to Lord Bathurst in October last, and corroborated by affidavits; by which it appears, that the Americans have of late years, previous to the present war, far outnumbered the British fishermen, and were very lawless in their

¹ Letter from the Custom-house, at Halifax, 20th August, 1806.

manners. They endeavoured to appropriate the bait exclusively to themselves; and frequently, on purpose, passed their boats through the British nets, even at times taking the fish out of them, and going on shore and plundering with impunity. They have frequently landed at the Magdalen Islands, and, hoisting the American flag, have been very abusive and insulting to the inhabitants. On this subject the words of the Memorialists are worthy of quotation: "Among the evils," they say, "which such an intercourse must inevitably produce, we are convinced, that the sentiments, habits, and manners, both political and moral, of the lower order of the Americans, are dangerous and contaminating in a very great degree. It is our first wish to see these colonies completely British; this will ever be found their surest defence and greatest blessing; but the intercourse permitted by that fatal article of the definitive treaty was detrimental to their duty as subjects, and to every other object of this address."

By this subject, the attention is collaterally drawn to the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which we have been in the habit of restoring to France at the conclusion of every war, but which it is to be hoped, will never more be done; for not only is it impolitic to give the French that privilege, but it will afford the Americans an opportunity of treating for the purchase of them from France, which, it is well ascertained, they had on former occasions in contemplation, in order to pursue their favorite plan of aggrandizement, by getting a footing of some kind in the vicinity of the Gulf of St. Lawrence; and we trust that the French will, in future, be totally excluded from Newfoundland—we have much to restore on the return of peace, but we have much that we ought to retain.

The objects hitherto recommended to the attention of the negotiators of a treaty with America, are such as tend to secure the integrity of our colonies in that quarter from future encroachment or invasion, and to ensure the permanent enjoyment, both to them and to the mother country, of the advantages in actual or past possession. But another main point remains to be adverted to, and its merits discussed, namely, the improvement and extension of those advantages by the augmentation of the population, agriculture, trade, and fisheries of those possessions, reasonably to be expected from pursuing a true line of policy. It is not enough to know that these territories possess the sources of extended and permanent prosperity,

but it is necessary also to give effect and fecundity to them by overcoming the obstacles that stand in the way of their abundant overflow. An especial, an artificial, and, if the expression may be allowed, a suicidal barrier, has, for years, obstructed and destroyed the blessings which the bounty of Providence put into our hands. This barrier consisted in allowing the Americans to supply our West India Islands with timber, staves, fish, and provisions. The war has put an end to this impolitic system, and experience has destroyed the illusions upon which that intercourse was sanctioned, which should never be revived!

But it is not only with respect to the prosperity of our North American colonies, that the permitted intercourse of the citizens of the United States with the West Indies is prejudicial, for other and very important branches of British trade have experienced also serious injury. Under the plea of distress in the islands, American vessels, of all sizes, having clandestinely on board East India, European (not British,) and United States manufactures, were admitted during several years, and, till the embargo system took place, almost as freely as if the intercourse had been legally justified.⁴ This, however, is only incidentally mentioned.

By the declaration of His Majesty in council of the 27th of December 1783, immediately consequent upon the treaty with America, the first infraction was made in our system of navigation, and the commerce between the United States and the West Indies, which had been completely suspended for eight years, was suddenly revived by public authority. By that hasty and improvident concession we made the United States necessary to the West India, and a system has grown out of it, which has so entangled and beset us on all sides, that it is difficult to convince even rational and unprejudiced minds, that the West India Islands can exist and flourish without communication with those States. This renders it therefore necessary to go a little at large into this subject, which is of vital importance to the British settlements in North America. The infallible tendency of the revival of that traffic was to discourage those settlements, which were thereby deprived of a market, which, if they had enjoyed to the present time, would have rendered them as valuable as any of the possessions under the British Crown.

Before the American rebellion, the traffic between the continental

⁴ Memorial from Nova Scotia to Lord Bathurst.

colonies and the West Indies was so great, that congress, under the idea of ruining the islands, during the war, prohibited all intercourse with them. The experience, however, of eight years, proved that the West India Islands could exist and prosper, even if the United States had been doomed to perpetual sterility. The traders of Great Britain and Ireland seized the opportunity which the enmity of America afforded them, and even during an expensive and consuming war, when vast fleets and armies were fed beyond the ocean, all those necessaries which the West Indies did not readily procure by their own economy, were sufficiently, and even super-abundantly, supplied from the British islands.

It would carry these observations to greater length than intended, to give the detailed accounts upon which these assertions are founded; ¹ but in illustration of them, the supplies of salted provisions (beef, pork, and fish), those upon which the advocates of a free intercourse with the West Indies lay the most stress, shall here be contrasted, as made by the provincials, (as they were then called) in 1773, the last year *previous* to hostilities, in which their intercourse with the West Indies was uninterrupted, and as made from England in the year 1780, when the war was raging, and in 1783, when peace was concluded.

	Barrels of beef and pork.	Barrels of salted fish.
In 1773 there was imported into the West Indies from America	14, 922	16, 200
— from England	259	2, 506
In 1780 from England	17, 795	10, 394
In 1783 from England	16, 526	18, 248

As to these and other necessaries the West India demand was amply answered. The planters also derived ground provisions from the best of all resources, *their own industry*, and began to learn a lesson, which is of the greatest importance for every people to know, that no community ought to depend upon their neighbours for the necessaries of life, and that the country which is *physically* dependent upon another runs the greatest hazard of becoming, sooner or later, also *politically* dependent upon it.

From authentic documents it is undeniably proved, that for the

¹ See the Reports of the Privy Council, 1784 and 1791.

space of eight years, pending the American war, the West Indies was wholly subsisted without entertaining any commercial intercourse with the Thirteen States ; that during that period they were supplied by the mother country and her dependencies ; and that they not only existed, but thrived and prospered without America. It may now therefore be asked, why is the United Kingdom, together with its remaining colonies in North America, the culture and population of which have been wonderfully increased since the secession of the United States, presumed to be incompetent to supply the West India colonies, when, thirty years ago, we administered to all their wants, and that too when we had to contend against the combined naval power of France, Holland, and Spain? Fortunately, many impediments in the way of coming to a direct determination of this question are removed. The arguments of interest or prejudice, used by those who have espoused the opposite side, have been most ably refuted by the thorough official and parliamentary investigations that have taken place, and have been triumphantly and practicably baffled by the experience of the last seven or eight years, during which time the Americans have, in a great measure, excluded themselves from the West India trade, by embargo systems and actual hostilities.

In 1784, the necessity of allowing a free intercourse between the sugar colonies and the United States of America, in American bottoms, underwent a full and thorough investigation by the privy council. In the report of the committee of council of the 31st of May in that year, there is a statement of the allegations and evidence produced, and the opinions of merchants and other persons, both for and against the alleged necessity. The result of this important enquiry was, *the satisfactory conviction that, by prohibiting or obstructing the intercourse between the United States and the West India Islands, the people of the United States will suffer more than His Majesty's subjects; that their lumber and provisions must perish on their hands; and that the British West India islands may be furnished with those articles without their assistance.* When a fresh investigation took place in 1791, the former opinion of the committee of the privy council, respecting the competency of the British North American colonies to sup-

ply the West Indies, and the necessity of confining that traffic to British vessels, was *substantially and unequivocally confirmed*. The report made upon that occasion, together with the memorials from our colonies in North America, in 1804, and the reports of the Board of Trade upon them, as well as the orders issued in consequence, by the administration of that day,¹ form as complete a body of evidence against the expediency of allowing this intercourse between the West India islands and the United States of America, as ever was submitted to the consideration of man.

The superabundance of wheat and flour before the present war was so great in Canada, that considerable cargoes were annually shipped to Great Britain, Portugal, and other parts, and it is observed by an intelligent writer on the resources of British North America "That the temporary causes which had checked the cultivation of this province are in some respects removed, and an increased annual export of flour and wheat may be depended upon, as the culture of wheat and manufacture of flour are rapidly increasing in that settlement, whence have recently been exported in one year, 800,000 bushels of wheat, and 30,000 barrels of flour."²

The facts adduced respecting the competency of these colonies, from their progressive improvement, to supply the West India islands, apply with equal or more force to the settlements of Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick; not only because their geographical situation is more advantageous to Great Britain than any other on the continent of North America, but also from their connection with Canada, the adjacent British islands, and the fisheries, and from the superior excellence and number of their harbours, they can supply, with facility, the British West India islands with every species of lumber, and the woods abound with all the various kinds of timber to be found in New England. Live-stock is raised in the greatest abundance, and sold at the lowest price; so that horses, oxen, sheep, and hogs, (formerly a material part of the shipments, from the United States,) may equally be depended upon from this

¹ Mr. Atcheson's Collection of Reports, &c. on Navigation and Trade, 8vo. Richardson, 1807.

² American Encroachments upon British Rights.

quarter. So great is the abundance in this respect, that His Majesty's navy, on the American, and occasionally that on the West India station, together with the king's troops in the provinces, are amply supplied, and several thousand barrels of salted beef and pork annually exported. The lands of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are well adapted for the cultivation of all sorts of grain, and of hemp, flax and tobacco. Fish can be cured and carried from Newfoundland, and the Bay of Fundy to the West Indies, at as cheap a rate as, and of a superior quality to, most of the fish that used to be sent from the United States. Herrings have hitherto been carried to the West Indies, from these two provinces, at a cheaper rate, than from Great Britain. In short, to expatiate on all the objects of which these colonies are capable, would require a volume.

The war in which we are engaged illustrates, and will speedily justify all these reasonings. It is no longer in the power of the United States to supply the British West Indies, and it becomes daily more evident that those islands *can* and *will be* supplied without their intervention. Most sincerely is it to be hoped, that the reiterated experience of the fallacy of the doctrines of the American advocates, which has been derived through the medium of war, will open our eyes, and induce us to revive, in all its vigor, the navigation, and colonial system of England, to give every species of encouragement to our colonies, and to prohibit, in future, all intercourse between the United States and the British West India Islands.

Though foreign to the more immediate object of these pages, it is equally desirable, that the Americans may be also excluded from trading with our Asiatic possessions. That most absurd anomaly in commercial policy by which foreigners were admitted to trade to British ports in India, from which the East India company excluded all other British traders, will now, it is most fervently to be hoped, from the new aspect which our oriental commerce will assume, by the partial opening of the India trade, be abandoned, never to be resumed; and this is an object likewise to be attended to in any peace with the United States of America.

Now that all former treaties are cancelled, and that the power of the sword will enable us to carry into effect such measures as may

rescue us from the evil consequences of past oversights, it is to be presumed, that the British government will not allow Florida to be incorporated with the United States;—will insist upon the free navigation of the Mississippi, and security for its continuance;—will espouse the cause of our ancient and faithful allies, the Indians;—and will require such boundaries, securities, and checks, as will in future keep within their due confines, and curb the ambitious projects of the American republicans. The war may be said to have retrieved our lost ground and to have placed the assertion of our maritime rights wholly within our own power, unshackled by the embarrassment of improvident concessions, or of *commercial treaties*.

We should accordingly avoid, at the restoration of peace, entering into any commercial treaty with the United States; for we have seen, that almost every article of those which have been concluded with them, has only served to entangle us in fresh negotiations, and to encourage the American government to pursue a systematic course of fraud and encroachment, whenever an article unfavorable to their views admitted of contortion or evasion. It being, thus, advisable, that no commercial treaty should be made with the United States, it will be necessary that all the bases that will have reference to the future commercial relations between the two countries, should be defined by the treaty of peace and amity; and these may be fixed in the best and easiest mode, by discharging from the discussion all questions of detail as to countervailing duties, legal or illegal importations, &c. and leaving the trade to be carried on under *the municipal regulations of each country*.

To conclude. The summary of what we have attempted to show the necessity of, and have warmly recommended to those whom Great Britain may charge with the adjustment of our differences with America, is,

First, a new boundary line, throughout the whole extent of North America, where our possessions and those of the United States come into contact; keeping in view, that

Nova Scotia and New Brunswick be restored to their ancient limits, security against aggression and a free communication with Canada be obtained, without passing through the United States, and the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay be resumed by us:

That the Americans be excluded from the navigation of the St. Lawrence, and of all its tributary lakes and waters ; and

That a navigable part of the Mississippi be brought within our Canadian territories.

Secondly, A new boundary line for the Indian territory.

Thirdly, No forts or military posts, to be erected by the Americans in the Indian territory, or on the boundaries, or any territorial or other jurisdiction or public property possessed by them within those limits.

Fourthly, The independence of the Indians, and the integrity of their boundaries to be guaranteed by Great Britain.

Fifthly, The Americans to be excluded from the fisheries on the coasts of British North America, incidentally on this head taking care that it be recommended in negotiating with France, by no means to restore the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, or to permit the French to participate in the fisheries of Newfoundland.

Sixthly, The Americans to be excluded from all intercourse with the British West India Islands.

Seventhly, The Americans to be excluded from trading with our East India possessions, and their *pretended* right to the north-west coast of America to be extinguished for ever.

Eighthly, The Americans not to be allowed to incorporate the Floridas with their republic ; and the cession of New Orleans to be required, in order to ensure to us the due enjoyment of our privilege to navigate the Mississippi : and here it may also be a question, in how far the arrangements made between Spain, France, and America, respecting Louisiana, can come into discussion.

Lastly, No commercial treaty to be entered into with the United States, but the bases upon which trade is in future to be carried on between the two nations, to be defined and acknowledged in the treaty of peace and amity, and to be regulated by the municipal laws of each country.

Having thus reviewed and examined these objects, and produced, it is to be hoped, a conviction of the essential nature of them to the prosperity and existence of our colonial possessions in North America, we trust they will not be absorbed in the magnitude, or be suffered to merge in the weight, of those grand questions, whence the

war originated,—the respective assertion and denial of our **MARITIME AND INHERENT RIGHTS**. In fact, while they are scarcely to be deemed of minor importance, in one point of view they form the bulk of what ought to come under discussion; for as to our maritime rights, we re-assert, that so far from the concession being admitted, even all disquisition relative to them should peremptorily be abstained from.

It is needless to enter into the abstract principle, the moral propriety, or the accepted and acknowledged legality of our claims, though all have been established on grounds, if not always wholly incontrovertible, yet never satisfactorily controverted. It is sufficient to revert to the principle, that God and nature having put the power of the ocean, as the surest and only bulwark of an island against its ambitious neighbours into our hands, we are fully entitled to exercise that power for our complete security, and so as to ensure us the full enjoyment of the naval prosperity consequent upon it. We seek not, we cannot seek, to controul the nations of the earth, whose strength is in armies, and in territories, and in multitudes; but we have a power given to us to wield, by which this our little island can resist the armies, and the wealth, and the multitudes of the assembled world. That power must never depart from us, or we cease to exist as a nation. That power resides in our maritime rights. To them unreserved adherence must be our device, the sword and the rudder our supporters: so shall the shield of our security be blazoned with glory, and our crest be, and remain, the honorable and perdurable dominion of the ocean.

“ QUI MARE TENEAT, EUM NECESSE RERUM POTIRI.”

London, 2d March, 1814.

APPENDIX.

ON THE CONDUCT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARDS THE INDIAN TRIBES.

Extracts from a Letter dated Canada, 14th January 1813.

[Taken from the Morning Post of the 26th April 1813.]

“ I HOPE that before this letter reaches you, *the eyes of the nation will have been opened* to the real views of the American government, in their infamous war against Great Britain, which are none other than eventual destruction to the independence of the country of their forefathers, by the establishment of principles ruinous to her navy, and by the immediate conquest of all British North America, and especially the Canadas, as means conducive thereto.

“ The diplomatic farce they have been acting, in their proposals (impudently *demanding* therein, as a preliminary, the very object of the contest) for an armistice *on your side* of the water, whilst they *rejected it on this side*, must surely convince the most incredulous that their purpose was to lull the nation asleep, in order that their conquest might be prosecuted, without interruption. †

† In vanity and impudence the Americans surpass the world. The late Mr. Fox observed, that he had heard of Scotch modesty and Irish impu-

“It cannot but make a forcible impression upon all who will *impartially* reflect upon the *past* conduct of the American government, that whilst the orders in council were considered likely to be persisted in, they were loudly complained of, as the only bar to accommodation and harmony between the two countries: but no sooner was it found that they would be given up, if that would suffice (see Lord Wellesley’s letter to Mr. Pinkney, of 29th December 1810), than the latter, in his answer of 14th January 1811, brings forward the annulment of the Blockade of May 1806, as also indispensable. Now, it is notorious, that this blockade was never complained of by America, until she was required so to do by Bonaparte; for Mr. Mouroe, so far from remonstrating against it, at the time, officially wrote, that he considered it ‘as highly satisfactory to the commercial interests;’ and the said orders and blockade being at an end, Bonaparte’s principles of blockade must also be acknowledged, and impressments from American vessels given up; which latter they confound and blind in such a manner, as to leave it equivocal, whether *native* American seamen be only meant, a *point we never claimed*, or *British seamen naturalized* in America be also included, which *we can never admit*, as it violates fundamental principles of right, and would unman our navy in a few years.

“Further, they insidiously aim at our giving up the right of search for our seamen, and to trust to *their* prohibitions, (to be hereafter made,) about employing them; but if we ever abandon that right; either as to search for contraband goods or for seamen—or trust to any other security for enforcement of our rights upon these points, *than the vigilance of our own navy*—then farewell to our independence as a nation. Thus, it is evident, that give up what you will, *something more is always held in reserve by America*, to keep up irritation against us; and to promote the purposes of France; and it is further evident, by the conduct of America since her declaration of war, that in drawing the sword she threw away the scabbard, and yet we remain with ours sheathed.

“The forbearance and spirit of conciliation of Great Britain towards America have been so extreme and unprecedented, that, instead of being attributed to magnanimity, and a sincere wish for peace,

dence, but that the true Corinthian brass was only to be found in America.

weakness only is considered in the United States as the motive: The time is therefore arrived when such determined enmity against us must be met by a proportionate and energetic application of our power against this new enemy, *at his vulnerable points*, of which there are many; for by such a course only will America be brought to her sober senses, and both countries saved from destruction; and I hope and trust that no terms of peace will hereafter be acceded to, that shall not provide ample security for our maritime rights—to our North American provinces—and to our Indian allies.

“The American government will be found inferior only to Buonaparte’s in the arts of deception, and of framing and circulating falsehoods, calculated to give a color to their unprincipled deeds, and to mislead public opinion. They are ever ready to accuse their enemy of practices *which they scruple not to pursue*. In nothing is this more manifest, than in *their hypocritical misrepresentations about our employing the Indians*, and which form a prominent feature in Mr. Madison’s message to congress, at the opening of its present session.

“The truth is, that the Americans have done the utmost to corrupt all the Indian nations, and employ them against us; when, finding their efforts in general fail (although successful in particular instances), they imitate the fox in the fable, and cry out sour grapes;—affecting to wish for Indian neutrality; although it is notorious that they would, if they could, employ every Indian in desolating Canada; and it is equally notorious, that they exaggerate the cruelties of Indian warfare, whilst greater are practised by the *white savages* of the *Western American States*, who are really more barbarous than the *red savages* of the wilderness.

“Of the Indians of North America, the far greater proportion live *without* the British territories, and only a small part within; which latter are chiefly such as were driven from the United States, in the American war, and to whom tracts of land were assigned in Upper Canada. Even these were offered bribes by the Americans to desert us, and being terrified by their gasconade about the power of America, and *our defenceless* situation, at one time balanced, from fear of them, but *not from want of affection for us*.

“Part of the Indians of St. Regis, a few others of the Six Nations, and some Shawanese who live *within* the American territory, joined them. General Hull’s official dispatch proves the efforts he made to procure others; who, he bitterly complains, deceived and deserted

him: and the American General Brown's invitation to the St. Regis Indians, whilst he commanded at Ogdensburg; as well as the Indians, generally, *being invited to go to Washington and other places, to hold conferences*, are further proofs of what I assert. Yet, after all these efforts to seduce the Indians, the American government has the effrontery to talk about Indian assistance to us. The reason why they do not succeed better in their plans of corruption is, that the Indians have experienced their deceptions and treachery too often to trust them, in any case, but that of necessity. The rule of the United States, respecting the Indians, is, '*that might makes right.*' They consider them as an inferior and unprotected class of beings, and act accordingly.

“The Indians, as well as the loyalists of British America, are objects of *deadly democratic* hate, as the speeches in congress plainly evince: indeed, the views of the American government seem long to have pointed at a systematic plan for *exterminating the Indians*—if not always by open force, at least by an insidious policy, which must operate to that effect: and the farce of the attempt made to civilize them, so much vaunted of in Mr. Jefferson's cant, was merely to deceive, and gain applause from foreign nations, who were ignorant of American practices, and of their Indian land swindling. Of this, the famous chief Tecumseeth, who unites the greatest wisdom with the most determined valor, was so well aware, that he had been long endeavouring to form a general league, *to preserve Indian rights* and repress AMERICAN INJUSTICE; but which, previous to the war, OUR government, from good faith and delicacy to the United States, declined giving countenance to, and on all occasions recommended peace; which sentiment, the British traders, in conformity with the wishes of this government, and in furtherance of their own interests, re-echoed to the interior tribes. But the moment that America declared war against Great Britain, the idea seems almost universally to have flashed upon the Indian mind, like lightning: that the moment was arrived for redress of the deep injuries inflicted upon them by the United States; and, consequently, they embraced the British cause in the full persuasion that they had *no permanent hope* but from British success and justice.—Thus every motive combined to stimulate them to aid in defending THEIR AND OUR lives and properties against American ambition and rapacity.

“ Under such circumstances, had we, from any absurd or fastidious scruples, rejected their assistance, it would have been holding out a premium for their turning against us; for, as an Indian chief lately observed, there is no such word in their language as *neutral*. They understand not its meaning—they know only of *friend or foe*. But an unanswerable argument is, that *we and the Indians are not* attacking American rights, but defending our own—we seek not the unnatural foe, but he comes (in many cases above *one thousand* miles,) to invade and enslave both of us. By what law, therefore, of God or man, are we to be prevented from employing those who have so deep a common interest in our defence? and especially as we are at *three thousand* miles’ distance from the mother country, which unhappily has been temporally blinded by American cunning and hypocrisy, whereby, for a time, the Canadas have been left exposed to the attack of a population of ten times their numbers.

“ The Americans affect to reprobate the Indian mode of warfare; but look at *their own* practice, which will be seen in General Hull’s exterminating proclamation, and in General Smyth’s offering a price *for the spoils of each Indian killed*; and further, in the fact, that the *first scalp*, this war, was taken by *an American scout*, at the river Canard, near Amherstburg. Look also at all the American Newspapers, from Ohio to Georgia, wherein will be seen stated, *as matters of course*, the burning of Indian villages and corn-fields, wherein they boast that sick and wounded Indians were consumed—and that so *many scalps were brought away as trophies*.—The house of a Kentucky man is generally ornamented with some Indian scalps. The American back-woods men go to hunt Indians, as if they were wild beasts.

“ The Americans, in their public capacity, behave with equal injustice. Governor Harrison, in 1811, with an army, *went across* the Indian line fixed BY SOLEMN TREATY, without any previous notification, to attack the Prophet’s town, *which he burnt*, after, however, being made to pay dearly for his treachery.

“ Admitting, however, there may be some instances of the massacre of a family by Indians, it will be generally found to have been such as had encroached upon their territory, established by treaty:—but what comparison, in point of atrocity, is there between such, and the *deliberate* purpose of extermination, which is evinced by the burning of Indian villages and corn-fields, and driving tribes from their hunting grounds? To aim at starving or expatriating a whole people, is surely more heinous than killing a few individuals. American encroachments

are not confined to one quarter. They extend to the Floridas, where a scene of peculiar and unblushing villainy has been exhibited.

“As to the Americans practising what they affect to reprobate, it might be sufficient to rest the proof thereof upon the fact *that scalping knives and tomahawks form part of the equipments of the western militia*, and that the cartridges of all their soldiers, regulars, and others, are made up *with one ball and three buck shot*.

“In their account of the late incursion into Lower Canada by Colonel Pyke, one of their regular officers, some of their letters state, that they burnt a hut occupied as a guard house, at Odle town, *wherein they boast of consuming four or five Indians*, whose bones they pretended to have found amongst the embers. This was false, as the whole escaped; but it proves the American practice, mind, and feeling, as strongly as if it had been true.

“It is a memorable fact, that since the commencement of the war, NO CRUELTY HAS BEEN COMMITTED BY THE INDIANS; but, on the contrary, at Michilimackinac, Detroit, Upper and Lower Canada, they have been confined within the strictest bounds of humanity and moderation, although previously threatened by General Hull with no quarter. And nothing can more strongly evince the duplicity and want of candor in the American character than this further fact, that none of those who owed their lives to Indian forbearance, under the guidance of British humanity, have ever had the honesty, publicly to acknowledge the fact, or to publish a contradiction to the barefaced falsehoods daily circulated in the American democratic papers, (including the government paper, the *National Intelligencer*,) about cruelties committed by Indians, under British excitements. And although thousands of American militia-men have, after capture, been suffered immediately to return home; yet, in no instance has a Canadian militia-man, in either

— “It is with peculiar satisfaction we find our Indian allies, notwithstanding the wrongs they have suffered, still pursuing the same line of conduct, in proof of which we quote the letter from Major-general P. Riall, to Lieutenant-general Drummond, dated Niagara Frontier, Fort Erie, 1st January 1814. See the London Gazette, 26th February 1814.

“Lieutenant-Colonel Elliot in this, as well as on other occasions, is entitled to my highest commendations, for his zeal and activity as superintendent of the INDIAN department; and I am happy to add, that through his exertions, and that of his officers, *no act of cruelty, as far as I could learn, was committed by the Indians towards any of their prisoners.*”

province, who had been made a prisoner by the Americans, (whereof, thank God, the whole number is short of one hundred,) been released, before he was regularly, but with difficulty, exchanged; and before being marched, in some instances, several hundred miles, through *their* country, *as if for a show.*¹

“As a sample of American humanity, it also should be known, that on the *third* attempt at invasion in Upper Canada, below Fort Erie, on the 28th of November last, when they had a trifling temporary success, wherein Lieutenant King, of the royal artillery, and Lieutenant Lamont, of the 49th regiment, were both severely wounded, and made prisoners by the Americans; *they were, at the risk of their lives, sent over to the American side:*² although at Queenston, the wounded Americans, who were made prisoners by us in great numbers on our side of the river, were allowed to be sent across to their countrymen, an armistice being granted for that purpose. And as further samples, *their firing red hot shot at the open town of Newark*, on the British side, whereby private houses were burnt; and their setting fire to private houses and stores by their soldiers, below (and at) Fort Erie, are conspicuous.

“In one of General Smyth’s famous proclamations, he says, that, on his entering Canada, persons and property should be protected, as far as the imperious necessities of his army would allow. In plain English, —there was to be no limit to plunder, but their wants; and, at Sandwich, General Hull gave a specimen of their thirst for pillage, his promises of protection notwithstanding. It is said that the plunder of Montreal was offered as a stimulus to the militia to volunteer crossing

¹ In a very recent instance, the Americans at New-London claimed from one of the British naval officers commanding on the station an American citizen, who was said to have been made a prisoner by His Majesty’s forces, although not a military man; it however appeared, afterwards, that he had been employed as a Torpedo-man. The conduct of the Americans in this instance is very conspicuous, as it is well known, that from the district of Niagara alone, they have carried off about fifty men who were *Civilians*, and had not taken up arms during the war.—Many of them above sixty years of age, were dragged from their fields and houses, and are now kept in rigorous confinement in American prisons; though, on the occupation of that district by the American army, the inhabitants were requested by their commander-in-chief to remain quietly at their homes, and that they should be by him protected! Thus, lulling the unwary and helpless into security, who might otherwise have avoided falling into their power.

² In consequence of which Lieutenant King died.

the line on the late occasion; which is highly probable, as it had long been a common boast amongst the Vermont democrats, that they would take Montreal at their own expense, if they should be allowed the plunder of it. They have got some lessons about invasions that will at least check, if they cannot wholly cure, their empty boasting in time to come.

“Of the effrontery of the American government, can any thing more in point be adduced than this? that at the time they were making so much noise about *one Henry* being employed by Sir James Craig (although *merely to obtain information* about their designs upon Canada), they were then, and have been since, *actively employing agents and spies* to corrupt and mould the people of the Canadas to their views, by organizing a system of treason and opposition to the provincial governments, and in procuring information in contemplation of their invasion and conquest of these provinces. Witness the traitor ———, who had been some years engaged in such practices, but who, unfortunately for us, escaped from Upper Canada, and avoided his merited fate, when Detroit was captured, by escaping in disguise. ——— was one of many, but the proofs of his guilt are the strongest.

“Another instance of that effrontery will be found in Hull’s proclamation, which was coined for him at Washington, wherein is held forth a public invitation to the people of Upper Canada, *to rebel against their government*. Yet to read the American accusations against the British government, people at a distance would suppose the Americans to be most delicately scrupulous, and possessing the very milk of human kindness; but it is a duty *to unmask and show them in their real character*. Happily their plans of conquest, although long premeditated, and urged on by the mean, additional stimulus, of considering us corrupted, unprepared, and unprotected, have produced to them nothing but disgrace.

“The people of the Canadas, in spite of the arts used *to deceive them*, have nobly done their duty to their king and country. What spectacle can be more gratifying to the mother country, than to see that her faithful colonies, although invaded, as it were by surprise, and at a time when the government at home was palsied by American hypocrisy and cunning, in making delusive proposals about peace, and when the American government knew, that the nation had their hands full in combating the enemy of mankind, have yet, under all these disadvantages, been able so gloriously to resist, with effect, the treacherous foes aided only by a *peace establishment* of regular troops, consisting,

it is true, of heroes, but from necessity dispersed in small bands (to form points of support upon a line of immense length), and by our brave Indian allies ?

“ Surely **THE MOTHER COUNTRY** will, this spring, step forth as becomes her, for the deliverance of colonies inhabited by people so meritorious, and rendered (independent of their intrinsic value to the nation, which is very great,) doubly interesting from containing those loyalists and their descendants, who, by having sacrificed their all in the American rebellion, for attachment to their king and country, are still relentlessly pursued by American ambition, as objects of pillage and extermination ; and which also contain a brave population, partly British born, but *the greater proportion descended from our ancient rivals*, who, in linking their fortunes with those loyalists and native Britons, emulate their exertions for the common defence, and spurn at the insidious offers of American fraternization. And further, that she will step forth for the deliverance, from American domination and injustice, **OF THOSE FAITHFUL INDIANS**, who have the strongest claims upon our national justice, honor, and humanity. Indeed, the claims of all seem paramount, and a stronger combination for action cannot be conceived ; therefore none can doubt of the national efforts being proportionate.

“ It may be asked, what injuries have the Indians who inhabit the country, without the British territory, sustained from the Americans, which can justify the inveterate antipathy which has produced so many Indian wars, and which have excited those apprehensions of extermination, so generally entertained by the Aborigines ? In the number of those injuries and wrongs are the following, as mentioned in substance by the sagacious Tecumsech, in his interesting interview with the lamented and brave General Brock, whom he came to see, and aid in his expedition to repel Hull’s invasion of Upper Canada :

“ *First*, The Americans systematically encroach upon their lands, and drive them from their hunting grounds.

“ *Second*, The American government make fraudulent purchases of their lands, from Indians who have no right or power to sell: as, for example, by getting a few insignificant members of a village to make a sale, to color usurpation.

“ *Third*, The American government in many instances have paid the Indians only *one farthing an acre* for lands which they sold immediately afterwards for six dollars ; thereby deriving a most produc-

tive article of revenue from this nefarious system; and even this miserable pittance of one farthing per acre, they connive at their agents in embezzling.

“ *Fourth*, The American government have established what they call *trading posts*, in the Indian territory, under the pretence of supplying them with necessaries, instead of money, for their lands, at which posts the most scandalous frauds are practised.

“ *Fifth*, These posts are turned into *military stations*, at the pleasure of the American government, to the immediate annoyance of the Indians, and to their ultimate subjugation.

“ *Sixth*, Obstructions and embarrassments of various kinds had been long thrown in the way of British traders coming to them with supplies; and finally, those traders were altogether prohibited from bringing their supplies, by laws (namely, the non-importation, non-intercourse, &c.) to which the Indians *were no parties*; notwithstanding they were, by treaties made by them as independent nations (and solemnly sanctioned by America), maintained in their right of intercourse with the British traders.

“ *Seventh*, That neither the feelings, interests, or rights of Indians, are at all considered by the Americans; but, on the contrary, are systematically outraged and violated on all occasions, which reduces the natives to a state of vassalage.

“ It is needless to go further into enumeration of the wrongs systematically practised against the Indians by America; but, it is a curious fact, and worthy of serious consideration, that these sturdy advocates (the Americans) for neutral rights against belligerents, were not ashamed to illustrate their theory by a most shameless practical invasion of the rights of Indians, who are independent nations, and completely neutral in the contest between Great Britain and France; and this at a time when America, still pretending to maintain neutrality, and to act as a non-belligerent, was, by one of those very acts, invading neutral Indian rights, in defiance of their own principles, and of positive stipulation.

“ Let it be observed, that in speaking herein of the Americans, I mean the democrats of the United States, who compose a great majority of their population. That country unquestionably contains a great number of able and honorable men; *but the idea of a British party there is absurd*. The Federalists, no doubt, wish Great Britain to prevail over France in the present contest; but they are our friends

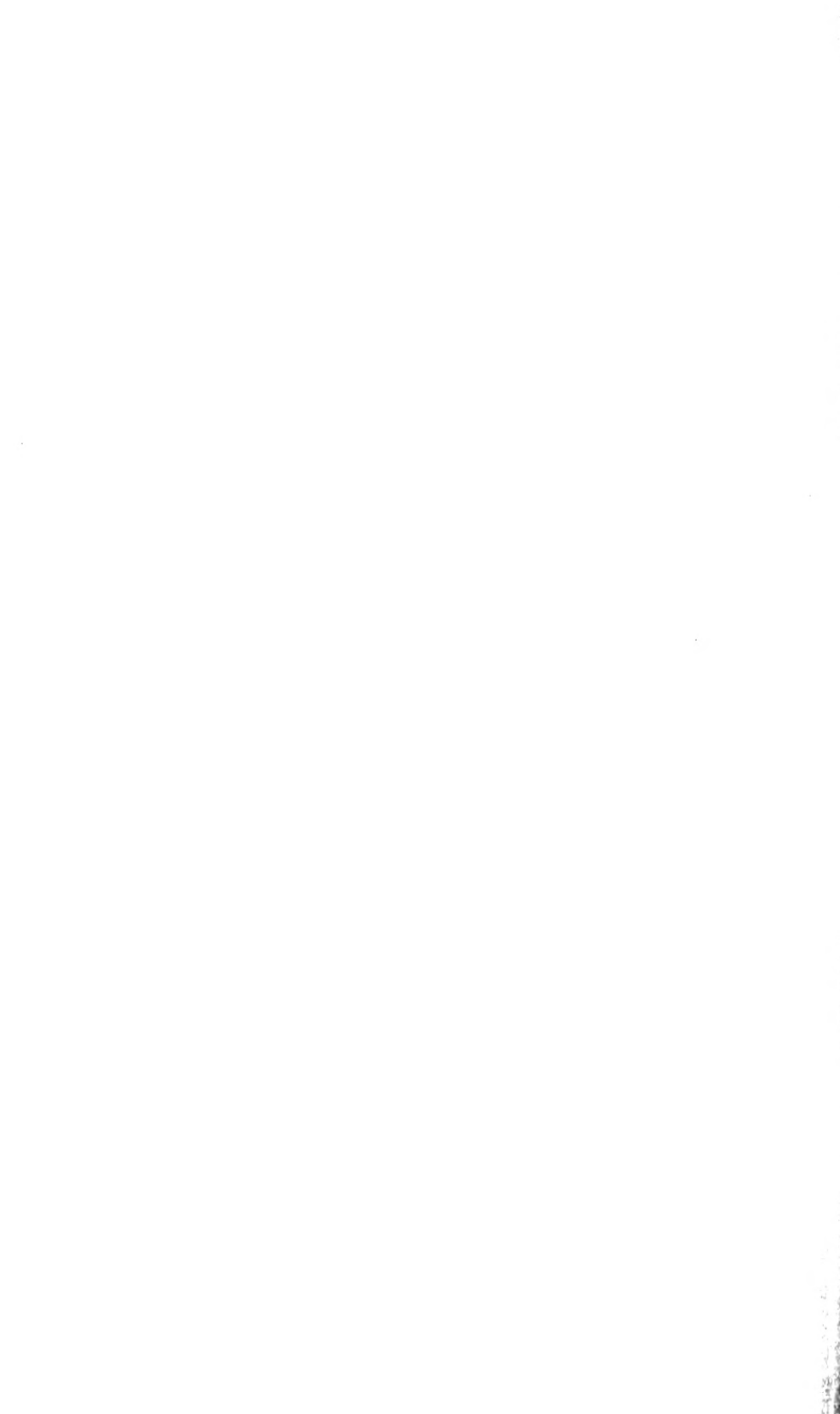
in so far only as will promote their party views, which once obtained, they would not scruple to endeavour to humble their mother country; *witness their joining in exultation about the taking of some of our frigates.*

“ I fear that I am becoming tiresome, and must conclude, but not before submitting to you these questions, after a perusal of the foregoing observations.

“ Can there be a doubt about the practical as well as abstract right of employing the Indians in our and their defence; and is there not now an imperious necessity for manifesting to America, by every practicable means, our power of compelling her to do them and us justice?

“ Can there be a Briton now so lost to all feeling and sense of national honor, as not to be roused to indignation, when the motive, the time, and all the circumstances of the American declaration of war, as also their practice under it, are taken into consideration?

“ Can America, as a nation, be at present considered in any other light than a parricide, deliberately aiming at the life of her parent; and that, to promote the triumph of the **MERCILESS USURPER** who is desolating continental Europe? Surely Heaven will punish, even in this world, a conduct so superlatively unnatural. For the facts within stated I pledge my veracity, and leave you to make such use of them as you shall judge most conducive to the cause of truth, and of **OUR COMMON COUNTRY**, at the present alarming crisis!”



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